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**Left and Right-Wing Populism in the United States.**

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## **Abstract (in english):**

Populism in the United States (US) has consistently been considered a specific third stream of US policy – from the People's Party to Ross Perot who criticized both the Republican Party,<sup>1</sup> and the Democrats. This bachelor's thesis will examine the differences between contemporary left-wing and right-wing populism in the USA by employing the method of quantitative linguistics. The frequency of certain statements and terms used by the US presidential candidates in their speeches will be compared. Being the most recent presidential candidates, D. Trump, B. Sanders, H. Clinton, and B. Obama are selected as main comparison for this study.

## **Abstrakt (česky):**

Populismus ve Spojených státech (USA) byl konzistentně považován za specifický třetí proud americké politiky – od Lidové strany po Rossa Perota, který kritizoval jak republikánskou stranu, tak i demokraty. Tato bakalářská práce bude zkoumat rozdíly mezi současným levicovým a pravicovým populismem ve Spojených Státech s pomocí metody kvantitativní lingvistiky. Bude porovnána frekvence některých prohlášení a termínů používaných prezidentskými kandidáty Spojených Států Amerických ve svých vlastních projevech. Jako hlavní srovnání pro tuto studii jsou vybráni: D. Trump, B. Sanders, H. Clinton a B. Obama, kteří jsou nejrelevantnějšími prezidentskými kandidáty.

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<sup>1</sup> also known as the GOP (Grand Old Party)

## **Keywords (in english):**

right-wing populism, left-wing populism, US policy, the republican party, the democrats party.

## **Keywords (česky):**

Pravicový populismus, levicový populismus, americká politika, republikánská strana, demokratická strana.

## **Declaration of Authorship**

1. I hereby certify that the thesis I am submitting is entirely my own original work except where otherwise indicated.
2. I certify that this work was not used to obtain another degree.
3. I consent to my work being used for the purpose of study and research.

In Prague 1.8.2019

Kamilla Kharisova

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## Introduction

In recent years, populism become a number one issue between social scientists and political commentators and it also attached considerable interest from people all over the world. Populism itself is a very complex construct without any strong set of features, which makes it even more odd. This is the reason why I decided to study this concept even further.

The main objective of this thesis is to distinguish and highlight populist traits in each of these four candidates, based on Paul Taggart's definition of populism. The secondary objective is to classify each of the candidates as leftwing or rightwing according to their responses, reactions and claims to general issues, rather than to the left or to the right of the political spectrum. This paper is divided into three chapters. Following the preface and introduction, the theoretical and methodological framework are defined. Next, the deepen roots of American populism are examined, it traces back to the 1890 People's Party,<sup>2</sup> as well as the basic values and features of this phenomenon.<sup>3</sup> In the section defining the theoretical framework, I will also explain Paul Taggart's definition of populism and how it can be applied to the US presidential candidates' election promises. The detailed features of Taggart's concept help to verify whether any such features can be found in the candidates' public speeches, video campaigns, Facebook wall posts, or Twitter tweets. The conclusion of this workpaper will seek to expose the dynamics between left-wing and right-wing populism.

Often, when political scientists write about populism, they start by assigning it a proper definition. To do so is a mistake, however, because there is no set of features that exclusively and comprehensively define movements, parties, and people that are considered "populist".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> B. Judis, 2016: 22.

<sup>3</sup> Taggart, Paul, 2000: 128.

<sup>4</sup> John, B. Judis, 2016: 13.

The populist tradition in the United States has its roots dating back to the beginning of the nineteenth century and has continued to exist until this day.

In his book *The Populist Explosion*, John B. Judis indicates that populist campaigns and parties often function as warning signs of a political crisis. In both Europe and the US, populist movements have been most successful at times when people see the prevailing political norms – which are preserved and defended by the existing establishment – as being at odds with their own hopes, fears, and concerns. The populists express these neglected concerns and frame them in a politics that pits the people against an intransigent elite. By doing so, they become catalysts for political change.<sup>5</sup>

The conflict itself turns on a set of demands that the populists make of the elite – demands that the populists believe the establishment will be unwilling to grant them. Sanders wanted “Medicare for all” and a \$15 minimum wage. If he had wanted the Affordable Care Act to cover hearing aids, or to raise the minimum wage from \$7.25 to \$7.75, that would not have defined a clash between the people and the establishment. If Trump were to demand an increase in guards along the Mexican border, these demands would not open up a gulf between the people and the elite. But promising a wall that the Mexican government will pay for or the total cessation of immigration – that does establish a frontier.<sup>6</sup> These kinds of demands define the clash between the people and the establishment. If they are granted in whole or even in part, or if populists abandon them as too ambitious then the populist movement is likely to dissipate or to morph into a normal political party or candidacy.<sup>7</sup>

## Methodology

Thesis will seek to calculate the relative frequencies of other points that are somehow connected with “the people” concept by employing quantitative linguistics method. Quantity

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<sup>5</sup> John, B. Judis, 2016: 16-18.

<sup>6</sup> John B Judis. Us vs Them: the birth of populism. *The Guardian*. 13.10.16. (cit. 1.8.19). Available online: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/13/birth-of-populism-donald-trump>

<sup>7</sup> John, B. Judis, 2016: 11.

means a substantial determination according to which a thing can be divided into homogenous parts which can then be integrated into one whole.<sup>8</sup>

Quantitative linguistics looks for quantitative data, quantifies the phenomena of different language levels and models their relations realized in lower units, in the word, as well as in higher units, in the sentence, text, etc. to enable us a better understanding of their causal mechanism, to know the dynamism of the development of a language, their functioning in their formal as well as semantic aspects, to disclose the causes of the potentiality of the phenomena of language.<sup>9</sup> Finding out quantitative data about the individual language phenomena and their mutual relations in a sufficiently extensive concrete material enables us to determine regularities and tendencies.<sup>10</sup> In order to establish a correct conception of the application of quantitative methods, it is necessary to adhere to the principle that quantitative data, formulae, etc. are not the aim proper of quantitative linguistics but a mere instrument or, as the case may be, a supervisor of our knowledge.<sup>11</sup>

As a body of discourse, populism is based on several disciplines; these include political philosophy, political history, sociology, psychology, social media studies, etc. Phenomenon of populism was analyzed from myriad theoretical perspectives — including structuralism, post-structuralism, modernization theory, social movement theory, party politics, political psychology, political economy, and democratic theory — and a variety of methodological approaches, such as archival research, discourse analysis, and formal modeling.<sup>12</sup> This work analyzes various verbal acts such as public statements, answers the press questions, interviews and posts from social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram), which were made by four candidates for United States president: D. Trump, B. Obama, H. Clinton, B. Sanders.

The methodological part of this thesis deals with the context of using the word “people” during the presidential campaign. The word form “people” will be a reference point by context of which we can identify whether the speaker lays on the left or on the right of the political spectrum.

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<sup>8</sup> Mathesius, 1911 in Těšitelová, M., 1992: 11.

<sup>9</sup> Mathesius, 1911 in Těšitelová, M., 1992: 13.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 1992: 13

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 1992: 13

<sup>12</sup> Canovan, Margaret, 2002, in Noam Gidron and Bart Bonikowski, 2013: 1.



Every candidate will respond on same six topics: 1. Announcing candidacy, 2. Taxes, 3. Economy, 4. Foreign Policy, 5. Immigration and 6. Inauguration speech. This thesis analyzes these specific five topics because all were included in each candidates' individual program. The length of each speech is approximately the same, it should help us to overcome asymmetries. Furthermore, there are also an additional information in form of miscellaneous posts and videos from social media.

There are 4 tables below each president candidate chapter that visualize six names of elected speeches, the number of "the people" word used and in which context it was used as well.

The main writings which have been useful for my work are Norris, Pippa a Ronald Inglehart *Cultural backlash: Trump, Brexit, and the rise of authoritarian-populism*. 2019 and John B. Judis' excellent analysis of modern populism in *The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics* and number of news outlets, such as The Washington Post, The Vox, Politico, and Guardian.

## 1. Ideology of populism

*„The leaders who work most effectively, it seems to me, never say “I”. And that’s not because they have trained themselves not to say “I”. They don’t think “I”. They think “team”. They understand their job to be to make the team function... There is an identification (very often quite unconsciously) with the task and with the group. “<sup>13</sup>*

*„I alone can fix this. “<sup>14</sup> (D. J. Trump)*

An influential definition of populism as an ideology was suggested by Cas Mudde in a series of studies that focus primarily on European right-wing populist parties:

*„(populism is) a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite,’ and*

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<sup>13</sup> Drucker, Petr, 1992: 14

<sup>14</sup> Donald Trump's Official Twitter account (22.7.16). Available online: <https://twitter.com/CNBC/status/756350652062830593>

*which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people”<sup>15</sup>.*

Populism here is first and foremost a set of ideas characterized by an antagonism between the people and the elite, as well as the primacy of popular sovereignty, whereby the virtuous general is placed in opposition to the moral corruption of elite actors.<sup>16</sup>

When one is involved with ideology, one is at once beset with perils, particularly the danger of being misunderstood. For over a century ideology have been regarded as epiphenomena by sociologists and political scientists.<sup>17</sup> If we are to make sense of populism, we must treat it as, though not only as, an ideology.<sup>18</sup> Populism as at once ideology that it composed of more primitive ideological themes, while also constituting a complex element in the structural analysis of some yet more complex system.<sup>19</sup> For example, Maoism is not populism, yet populism is an important element in Maoism – a far more important element, too, than it ever was in Stalinism.<sup>20</sup> That means that populism can be attached to other ideologies.

„Populism serves many masters and mistresses. At different times and in different places it has been a force for change, a force against change, a creature of progressive politics of the left, the refuge of a measured defense of the status quo and a companion of the extreme right.“<sup>21</sup> There is no set of features that exclusively defines movements, parties, and people that are called populists – from Russian Narodniks to Huey Long, and from France’s Marine Le Pen to the late congressman Jack Kemp.<sup>22</sup> The term is used widely, but often defined narrowly.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, populism is a process that end up vanishing if we study it too closely. In his book *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory*, an Argentine political theorist Ernesto Laclau writes about populism “as a process whereby, we start with the assumption that there is something called populism, so we define it, look for examples of it, study them, and then refine our definition so that it fits the examples we studied. When we seek to then give a general definition,

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<sup>15</sup> Mudde, Cas, 2004: 543

<sup>16</sup> Gidron, Noam, Bonikowski, Bart.: 3

<sup>17</sup> De Kadt, Emanuel, MacRae, Donald, 1969: 153.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 1969: 154

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 1969: 154

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 1969: 154

<sup>21</sup> Taggart, Paul. 2000: 10.

<sup>22</sup> Judis B. John, 2016: 13.

<sup>23</sup> Taggart, Paul. 2000: 10.

we resort to comparing the specifics of the movement but, because they fundamentally differ, we end up dropping populism.”<sup>24</sup>

## 1.2. Paul Taggart’s definition of populism

Paul Taggart’s definition of populism is explained, and also how it can be applied to the US presidential candidates’ election promises. The detailed features of Taggart’s concept will help to verify whether any such features can be found in the candidates’ public speeches, video campaigns, Facebook wall posts, or Twitter tweets.

Professor of politics at the University of Sussex, Paul Taggart, describes “populism” as “a difficult, slippery concept. It lacks features that would make it more tangible. Rooted in it are characteristics that render it quintessentially mercurial. For these reasons, it is profoundly difficult to constrict a generalized description, let alone a universal and comprehensive definition, of populism as an idea or as a political movement.”<sup>25</sup> Also, Taggart raises the questions such as what is populism and its defining elements? Why are moments of populism so spectacular and yet movements of populism so difficult to sustain?

In his book “Populism” Taggart tries to define populism by exploring six key themes that run through populism:

- Populists as hostile to representative politics;
- Populists identifying themselves with an idealized heartland within the community they favor;
- Populism as an ideology lacking core values;
- Populism as a powerful reaction to a sense of extreme crisis;
- Populism as containing fundamental dilemmas that make it self-limiting;
- Populism as a chameleon, adopting the colors of its environment.

According to populist logic politics is messy and corrupting<sup>26</sup>, in this regard populism seeks to avoid political involvement. Overcoming their reluctance, populists engage in politics when they perceive crisis.<sup>27</sup> The components of representative politics such as parties and

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<sup>24</sup> Laclau, Ernesto 1977: 145

<sup>25</sup> Taggart, Paul, 2000: 2.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 2000: 3

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 2000: 3

parliaments populists indicate as distraction and as an unnecessary complication. Eschewing the complexity of representative politics, populists advocate simplicity and directness in their politics.

Furthermore, there is a concept of heartland within a populism. The heartland is that subset of the people who are the authentic people, it is the place where the real people live, the salt of the earth. Those people are God-fearing, they work for their money, they are not pretentious, they have common sense, they know what is good, they are pure.<sup>28</sup> Heartland is a notion that is constructed through looking inward and backward: a world that embodies the collective ways and wisdom of the people who construct it, usually with reference to what has gone before. It is populated by ‘the people’ and gives meaning to constructions and invocations of the people by populists.<sup>29</sup>

Taggart argues that populism has been a tool of progressives, of reactionaries, of democrats, of autocrats, of the left and the right. But unlike the other ideologies, which focus on one or more values such as equality, liberty and social justice, populism has no such core to it.<sup>30</sup> This explains why populism is appropriated by such wide range of political positions and why it is very often appended to other ideologies.<sup>31</sup>

Often populism is a warning sign of a political or economic crisis. The emergence of a crisis shakes populists out of their reluctance and into politics, and into an active defense of the heartland. The difficulty is that the crisis may be one in the imagination of the populist or it may be the true sense of the world.<sup>32</sup>

Taggart also asserts that populism is an episodic phenomenon. He argues that populism comes up in times of crisis that are usually short-term, and it disappears as soon as the crisis is over.

The last key point elaborated by Taggart is that populism has a chameleonic nature – it is adaptive and fundamentally colored and charged according to its environment. The nature of populism, the issues it focuses on, and what it celebrates as “low” politics derive from its context. This is why populism is particularly given to variation and it becomes particularly difficult to integrate the studies of populism across drastically different contexts.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Roell, Sophie, Cas Mudde explains Paul Taggart’s definition of heartland. (cit. 1.8.19). Available online: <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/cas-mudde-populism/>

<sup>29</sup> Taggart, Paul, 2000, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 2000: 4.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 2000: 4.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 2000: 4.

<sup>33</sup> Rovira, Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, Taggart, Paul, Ochoa, Esprejo Paulina a Ostiguy, Pierre, 2017: 229

## 2. The logic of American populism

America has a long tradition of populist leaders and movements emerging to lambast the establishment and demand power for the people.<sup>34</sup> There is, however, a particular kind of populist politics that originated in the United States in the 19th century, which has recurred there in the 20th and 21st centuries – and which began to appear in western Europe in the 1970s. In the past few decades, these campaigns and parties have converged in their concerns, and in the wake of the Great Recession, they have surged.<sup>35</sup>

Furthermore, the kind of populism that runs through American history, and is transplanted to Europe, cannot be defined in terms of right, left, or center. There are rightwing, leftwing and centrist populist parties.<sup>36</sup> It also doesn't describe someone like Ronald Reagan or Vladimir Putin, both of whom have sometimes been called "populist," but it does describe the logic of the parties, movements, and candidates from America's People's Party of 1892 to Marine Le Pen's National Front of 2016.<sup>37</sup>

In past, Republican and Democratic presidential contenders both have used populist rhetoric.<sup>38</sup> Populism is an American creation that after spread to Latin America and Europe. It begins with the People's Party of the 1890s which set the precedent for movements that have popped up periodically. In the United States, in contrast to Europe, these campaigns have burst forth suddenly and unexpectedly. Usually short-lived, nevertheless they have had an outsized impact. While they seem unusual at the time, they are very much part of the American political fabric.<sup>39</sup>

## 3. Populism as a political strategy

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<sup>34</sup> Norris, Pipa, Inglehart, Ronald, 2019: 332

<sup>35</sup> Judis B. John, 2016: 13.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 2016: 13-14

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 2016: 14.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 2019: 333

<sup>39</sup> John B. Judis, 2016: 20

The confrontational, chameleonic, culture-bound and context-dependent<sup>40</sup> populism can be studied in a number of ways. Firstly, populism, in its various forms, is prevalent across countries and regions. For instance, discusses cases from North America, Latin American, Russia, Eastern Europe, and Africa. Next to cross-national comparisons, others point to the transnational dimension of the phenomenon and the ways in which populist rhetorical frameworks have been diffused and adapted across countries.<sup>41</sup> Secondly, populist politics have emerged in different historical periods: scholars distinguish between different waves of populism, beginning with the farmers' movements in Russia and the US in the late 19th century, through the emergence of Latin American populism in the mid-20th century, and the recent resurgence of populism in Europe, the United States, and Latin America.<sup>42</sup> Thirdly, populism cuts not just across geographical borders and historical eras, but also ideological cleavages.<sup>43</sup> The kind of populism that runs through American history, and is transplanted to Europe, cannot be defined in terms of right, left or center. There are rightwing, leftwing and centrist populist parties.<sup>44</sup>

In Europe, an exclusionary rightwing variant of populism emerged in the 1980s—and has intensified since—targeting mostly immigrants and national minorities<sup>45</sup>. In Latin America, on the other hand, populism in recent years has been mostly associated with an inclusionary vision of society, bringing together diverse ethnic identities into shared political frameworks.<sup>46</sup> In the United States, populism has been associated with a variety of economic ideologies and political parties, from the Populist Party of the late 19th century and the New Left of the 1960s, through Southern segregationism, to present-day Republican orthodoxy of free-market economics.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Arter, David 2010: 490.

<sup>41</sup> Sawyer and Laycock, 2009 in Gidron, Noam, Bonikowski, Bart. Weatherhead Center for international affairs. (cit. 1.8.19), Available online: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/0be8/f414bc511b264a6bf52132f5193f842884e4.pdf>

<sup>42</sup> Gidron, Noam, Bonikowski, Bart. Weatherhead Center for international affairs: 1-5

<sup>43</sup> Kaltwasser, 2013 in Gidron, Noam, Bonikowski, Bart. Weatherhead Center for international affairs

<sup>44</sup> Judis John B. 2016: 13-14

<sup>45</sup> Mudde, Cas. 2007. in Gidron, Noam, Bonikowski, Bart. Weatherhead Center for international affairs: 4.

<sup>46</sup> Levitsky, Steven and, Kenneth M Roberts (eds.). Roberts. 2011 in Gidron, Noam, Bonikowski, Bart. Weatherhead Center for international affairs, 4.

<sup>47</sup> Kazin 1995 in Gidron, Noam, Bonikowski Bart. Weatherhead Center for international affairs: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/0be8/f414bc511b264a6bf52132f5193f842884e4.pdf>

### 3.1. Rightwing and leftwing populism

After the most dramatic elections<sup>48</sup> in the United States, it's become a vital to distinguish between rightwing and leftwing populism, otherwise the development of our democracy will lead us in the wrong direction.

Leftwing populists champion the people against an elite or an establishment. Theirs is a vertical politics of the bottom and middle, arrayed against the top.<sup>49</sup> Rightwing populists champion the people against an elite that they accuse of favoring a third group, which can consist, for instance, of immigrants, Islamists, or African American militants. That's why we consider leftwing populism is a dyadic and rightwing populism is a triadic: it looks upward, but also down upon an out group.<sup>50</sup>

Rightwing populism is different from a conservatism that primarily identifies with the business classes against their critics and antagonists below. In its American and Western European versions, it is also different to an authoritarian conservatism that aims to subvert democracy. It operates within a democratic context.<sup>51</sup>

Leftwing populism is historically different from socialist or social democratic movements. It is not a politics of class conflict, and it does not necessarily seek the abolition of capitalism. It is also different from progressive or liberal politics that seeks to reconcile the interests of opposing classes and groups. It assumes a basic antagonism between the people and an elite at the heart of its politics.<sup>52</sup> The word, which often used by leftwing populist is "the establishment". There is no common identification of this word, so it can vary from the "money power" that the old populists decried to George Wallace's "pointy-headed intellectuals" to the "casta" that Podemos assails.<sup>53</sup>

Just as there is no common ideology that defines populism, there is no one constituency that comprises "the people". They can be blue-collar workers, shopkeepers, or students burdened by debt; they can be the poor or the middle class. Equally, there is no common identification of "the establishment". The exact referents of "the people" and "the elite" do not define populism,

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<sup>48</sup> BBC, Elections in 2016, (cit. 1.8.19). Available online: <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/cas-mudde-populism/>

<sup>49</sup> Judis John B. 2016: 14.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 2016: 14.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 2016:15

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 2016: 15

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 2016: 15

what defines it is the conflict between the two (or, in the case of rightwing populism, the three).<sup>54</sup>

## 4. Democrats vs Republicans

There is something very strange happening in American politics now.<sup>55</sup> At the present moment the Congressional Democratic and Republican Parties, which were at the very beginning of 20 century big tent catch-all coalitions, sorted into two distinct camps divided along increasingly sharply drawn ideological lines.<sup>56</sup> The story of party splitting turned out as a long-term trend. It started in the second half on twentieth century, where the Democratic party's platform stands towards the civil rights, a critical issue dividing Northern liberal representatives from Southern segregationists. In the 1960s, during the era of President Johnson, Congressional Democrats from Northern states moved in a more socially liberal direction on issues such as the War on Poverty, Civil Rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment. When the liberal wing of the Democratic Party pushed through the 1964 Civil Rights Act, it began shifting their core base toward African-Americans, Hispanics, and other ethnic minorities. Segregationist white Southerners, who previously provided a solid bloc of support for the Democrats, increasingly shifted to the Republicans.<sup>57</sup>

From the mid-1970s onwards, however, the Congressional Republican Party gradually shifted toward more consistent social conservatism on key issues, including abortion, affirmative action, and LGBTQ rights, accompanied by a growing role for the GOP evangelical base. Under President Reagan, however, the GOP remained a broad coalition combining three factions: traditional 'country club' Republicans, small-government, tax cut fiscal conservatives, and the Christian Right. The timing of these ideological shifts in the leadership of each of the major parties over successive decades can be characterized as a staggered realignment.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 2016: 15.

<sup>55</sup> Sahil, Chinoy. What Happened to America's Political Center of Gravity? 26.06.2019. (cit. 1.8.19). Available online: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/06/26/opinion/sunday/republican-platform-far-right.html>

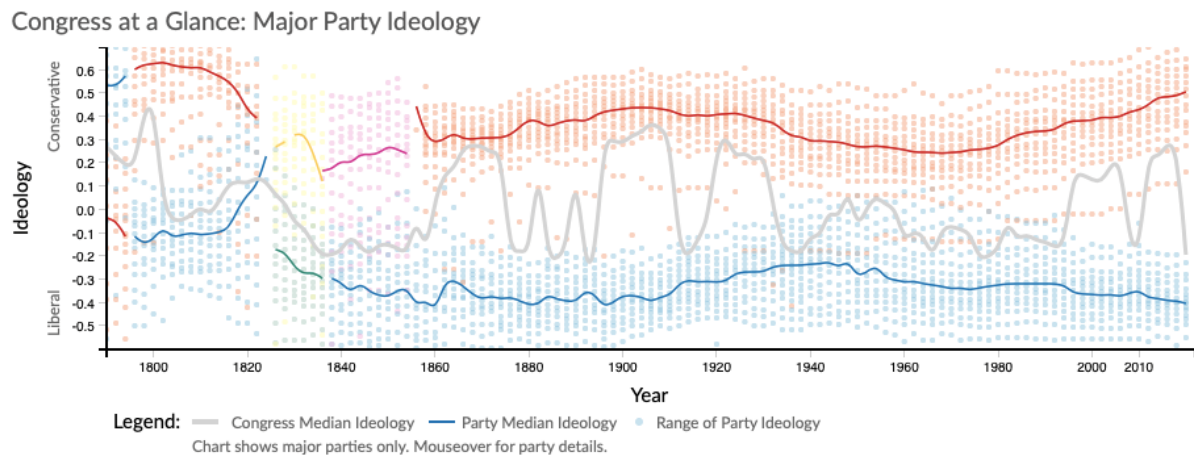
<sup>56</sup> Norris, Pipa, Inglehart, Ronald, 2019: 334

<sup>57</sup> Black, Earl, Black, Merle, 2003 in Norris, Pipa, Inglehart, Ronald, 2019: 333-334

<sup>58</sup> Norris, Pipa, Inglehart, Ronald, 2019: 334



The story of party polarization in US Congress is also illustrated by the longitudinal trends shown by roll call voting records, monitoring the median liberal or conservative ideology of each of the major parties' members in Congress. (viz Figure1)



**Figure 1.** *Party polarization in Congress.*<sup>59</sup>

This chart shows the ideologies of major parties in Congress according to DW-Nominate. The top line is the Republicans and the bottom line is the Democrats. Each line represents the median (mid-point) ideology of members of a single party. A lower line means a more liberal party, while a higher line means a more conservative party.

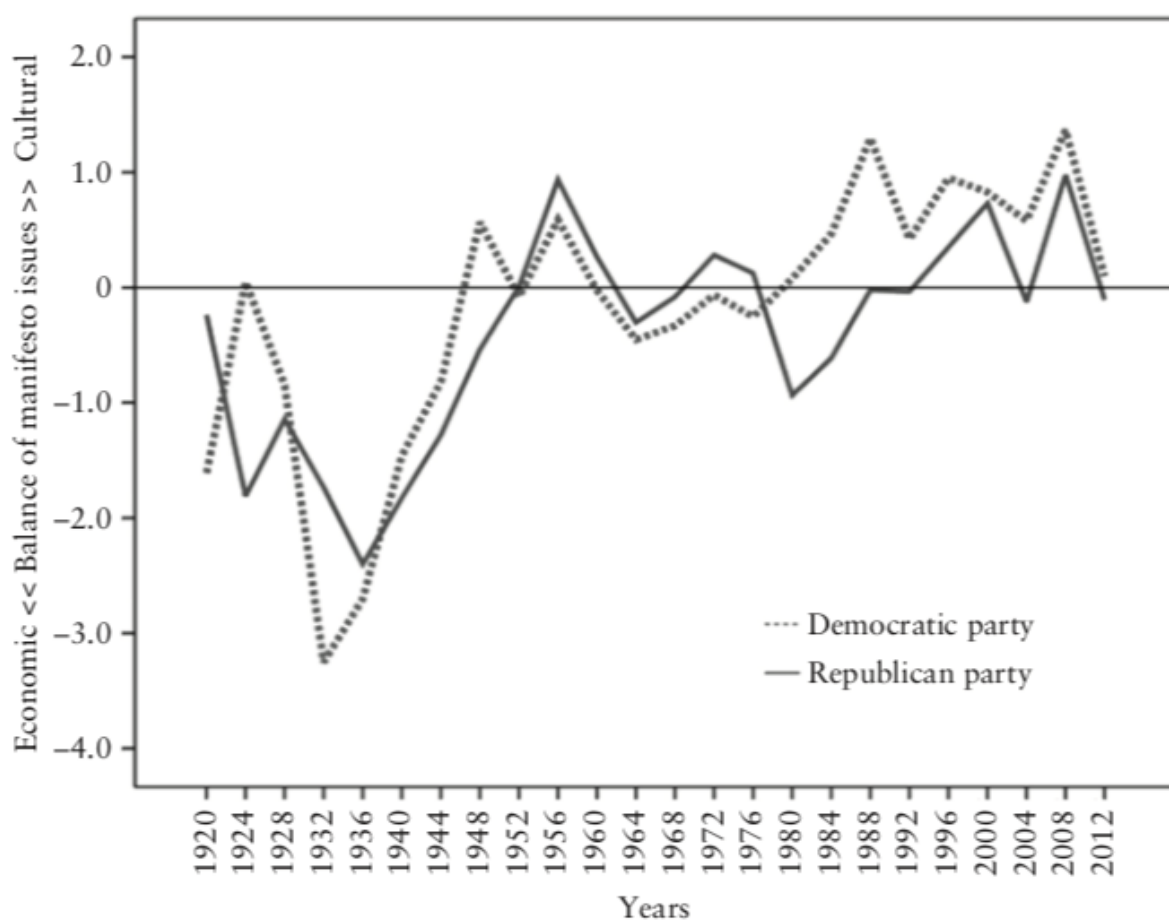
The evidence shows the Congressional Democratic Party becoming increasingly liberal since the mid-twentieth century; shifting 16 points from a score of -22 around 1948, when Truman submitted a civil rights plan to Congress and ended racial segregation in the armed forces, down to -38 during the Trump era. The Congressional Republican Party reacted somewhat later, moving under successive administrations from the mid-1970s onwards in a steadily more conservative direction; the party scored +.25 under Nixon, but +49 in the 115th Congress today, a 24-point shift.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> UNCLA social sciences division. Parties overview. Voteview.com. (cit.1.8.2019). Available online: <https://voteview.com/parties/all>, The original dataset was developed by Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal. Source: DW-Nominate. <https://voteview.com/parties/all>.

<sup>60</sup> Norris, Pipa, Inglehart, Ronald, 2019: 334

Several factors lead to the increasing duality in the American electorate. Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart in their book *Cultural Backlash*, explain growing party polarization by the transformation in the priority given to cultural issues in the party platforms of the major US parties.<sup>61</sup>

**Figure 2.** Data from the Comparative Manifesto Project<sup>62</sup> demonstrate us the relative salience of economic and cultural issues from party manifestos for the major US parties from 1920 to 2016.



**Figure 2.** *The rising salience of cultural issues on the Democrat and Republican Party platforms.* Relative importance is calculated using standardized scales (Z-score) measuring the amount of coverage of issues in manifestos, irrespective of direction. They choose *Economic*

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 2019: 334

<sup>62</sup> The comparative Manifesto Project. (cet. 1.08.19) Available online: <http://manifesto-project.wzb.eu> (dataset release 18.8.17)

*issues* and *Cultural issues* as two contrasts. The balance of issue salience is estimated as the mean economic score minus the mean cultural score.<sup>63</sup>

According to the **Figure 2**, Economic issues are defined as the proportion of coverage in party programs devoted to issues such as free market economies, incentives, market regulation, protectionism, economic goals, demand management, economic growth, controlled economy, economic orthodoxy, and Marxist analysis. *Cultural issues* include environmentalism, culture, social justice, national way of life, traditional morality, and multiculturalism.

The results in Figure 2 show that during the Interwar decades, after the Stock Market crash, which led to the massive unemployment, after the economic dislocation of the Great Depression and its aftermath, both major parties focused on *bread-and-butter* model. However, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt became a president, he changed direction the policy behavior by abandoning an austerity and orthodox fiscal and budgetary policies in favor of New Deal programs reflecting Keynesian ideas of economic management. The post-war decades saw the growing salience of important cultural issues, notably the Civil Rights movement, desegregation, and the Civil Rights Act of 1957 prohibiting discrimination by federal and state governments based on race, color, sex, and national origin – and the backlash among Southern segregationists who fled to the Republican Party.<sup>64</sup>

This pattern persisted until the mid-1970s and early 1980s, when the Democratic platform started to shift toward giving far greater emphasis on cultural rather than economic issues. The Republican platform acted the same, they started shifting towards far-right issues. As a result, during the last two decades the policy platforms of both major parties have come to offer increasingly divergent positions on a wide range of social issues, such as reproductive rights and affirmative action, race relations and criminal justice, same sex marriage and transsexual rights, environmental protection and climate change, sexual harassment, the role of religion, and immigration.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Norris, Pipa, Inglehart, Ronald, 2019: 336

<sup>64</sup> Norris, Pipa, Inglehart, Ronald, 2019: 335-336

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 2019: 335-337.

## **4.1. Categories that push the candidates to the right or to the left.**

From the historical point of view the terms left and right were first used in an ideological context during the French revolution of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The left-wing movement supported the revolution, while the right wing stood in favor of the monarchy. This idea of the left supporting change and the right wanting to perpetuate the status quo continues today and is key in some of their philosophies. The difference between left- and right-wing ideology fundamentally comes down to the balance between individual liberty and government power.<sup>66</sup>

There is, however, a catch that using term “left” and “right” to describe modern political parties. These terms are not always an accurate enough representation, because there are many different political spectrums that can be used to evaluate how far left or right a party stands. Parties often judge themselves based on other current political parties. In this regard the Democratic party is on the left of political spectrum and the Republican party often seems to be on the right.

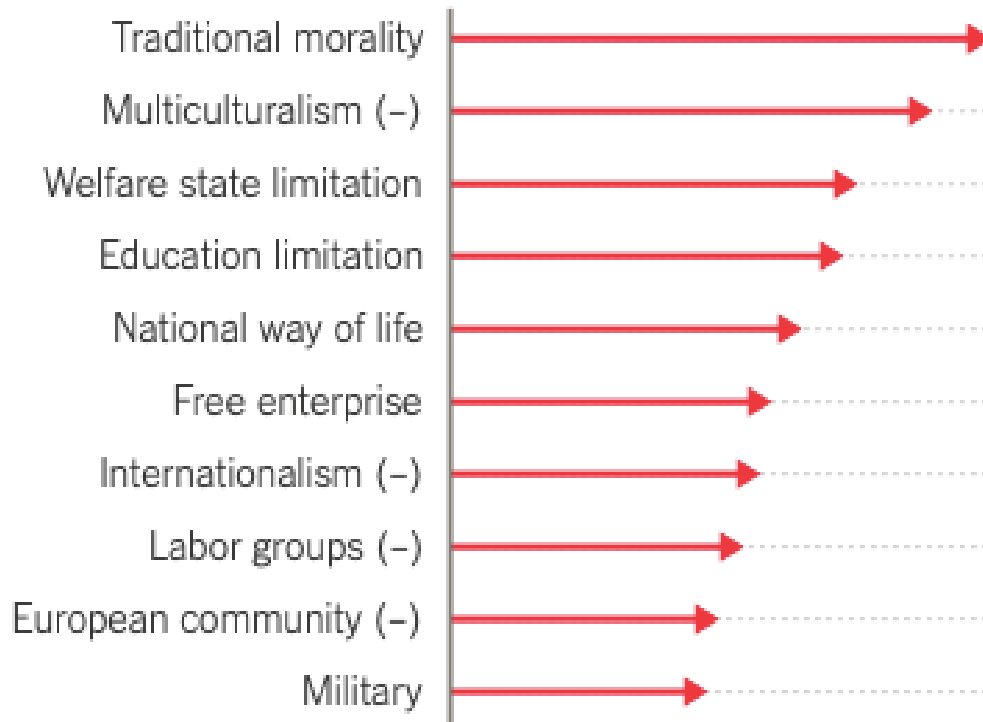
Moreover, the political spectrum is not just two dimensional, within both the left and the right. There are people who hold authoritarian and libertarian views, where authoritarians with for greater government interference and libertarians want the opposite.<sup>67</sup> In the Figure 3, 4<sup>68</sup>, provide a map of the right and left policy idea and party goals.

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<sup>66</sup> The Life Guide. 29.12.2016. (cit. 1.8.2019) Available online:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JlQ5fGECmsA>

<sup>67</sup> Norris, Pipa, Inglehart, Ronald, 2019: 335-337.

<sup>68</sup> Chinoy, Sahil. What happened to America’s Political Center of Gravity? New York Times. 26.06.19. (cit. 1.8.19). Available online:  
<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/06/26/opinion/sunday/republican-platform-far-right.html>



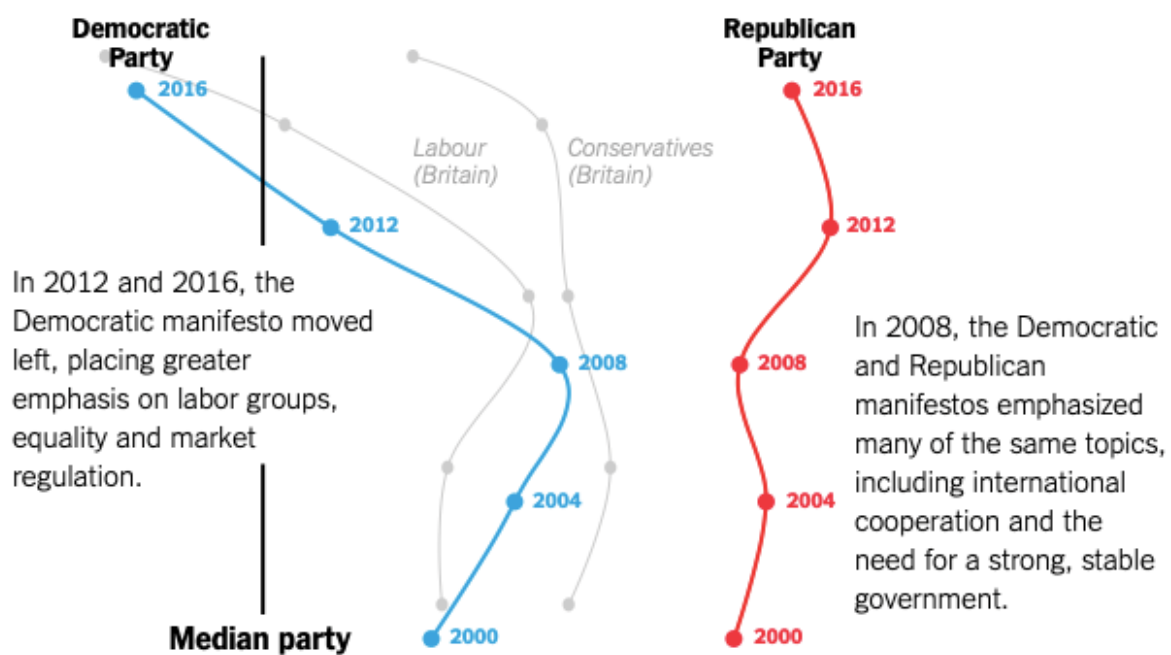
**Figure 3.** *Republican party priorities.*



**Figure 4.** *Democrats party priorities.*

According to the 2016 Manifesto Project<sup>69</sup> findings, the Republican Party lies far from mainstream right-leading parties in Europe, such as the Conservative Party in Britain and the Christian Democratic Union in Germany — and closer to far-right parties like Alternative for Germany, whose platform contains plainly xenophobic, anti-Muslim statements. The difference is that in Europe, far-right populist parties are often an alternative to the mainstream. In the United States, the Republican Party is the mainstream.<sup>70</sup>

The Democrats fall closer to mainstream left and center-left parties in other countries, like the Social Democratic Party in Germany and Britain's Labor Party, according to their manifestos' scores. And the United States' political center of gravity is to the right of other countries', partly because of the lack of a serious left-wing party. Between 2000 and 2012, the Democratic manifestos were to the right of the median party platform. The party has moved left but is still much closer to the center than the Republicans. Viz Figure 5.



<sup>69</sup>Manifesto Project, Categorizes each line in party manifestos, the documents that lay out a group's goals and policy ideas. (cit. 1.8.2019) Available online: <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu>

<sup>70</sup> Chinoy, Sahil. What happened to America's Political Center of Gravity? New York Times. 26.06.19. (cit. 1.8.19). Available online: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/06/26/opinion/sunday/republican-platform-far-right.html?rref=collection%2Fbyline%2Fsahil-chinoy&version=latest&contentPlacement=2&module=ArrowsNav&contentCollection=Opinion&action=keypress&region=FixedLeft&pgtype=Multimedia>

**Figure 5.** *The party's score from the left to the right.*<sup>71</sup>

## 4.2. The U.S. 44<sup>th</sup> President B. Obama

Barack Obama was inaugurated as the 44th president of the United States—becoming the first African American to serve in that office—on January 20, 2009. He served two terms, in 2008 and 2012. The son of parents from Kenya and Kansas, Obama was born and raised in Hawaii. He graduated from Columbia University and Harvard Law School. After serving on the Illinois State Senate, he was elected a U.S. senator representing Illinois in 2004. He and wife Michelle Obama have two daughters, Malia and Sasha.<sup>72</sup>

In February 2007 at the Old State Capitol in Springfield he announced that he would seek the Democratic Party's presidential nomination of the 2008 election.<sup>73</sup> In his campaign program for president in 2008 and 2012 Obama promised to “cut taxes for 95 percent of all working families,” “end our dependence on oil from the Middle East,” “invest \$150 billion over the next decade in affordable, renewable sources of energy,” provide “affordable, accessible health care for every single American,” close “corporate loopholes and tax havens that don't help America grow,” “end this war in Iraq responsibly and finish the fight against al Qaida and the Taliban in Afghanistan,” and allow “our gay and lesbian brothers and sisters to visit the person they love in a hospital and live lives free of discrimination.”<sup>74</sup>

The table below visualizes six elected speeches, which were performed by B. Obama during both campaigns and terms in the office as a president of the U.S. The number on right side shows amount of using word “people” and context.

In speech number two, during the announcement of his candidacy for the second term in 2011, Obama asked people to look back and see how much they accomplished together and how much more they still have to do.

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<sup>71</sup> Chinoy, Sahil. What happened to America's Political Center of Gravity? New York Times. 26.06.19. (cit. 1.8.19). Available online:

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/06/26/opinion/sunday/republican-platform-far-right.html>

<sup>72</sup> Who is Barack Obama? BIOGRAPHY (online). (cited on 1.8.2019). Available online

<https://www.biography.com/us-president/barack-obama>

<sup>73</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica. United States Presidential Elections of 2008. (cit. 1.8.19) Available online: <https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-2008>

<sup>74</sup> Nelson, Michael, Barack Obama Campaign and Elections, Miller Center, (cit.1.08.19), Available online: <https://millercenter.org/president/obama/campaigns-and-elections>

Name:	B. Obama - “the people”
1. Inauguration speech <sup>75</sup>	<p>8x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- We the People - faithful to the ideals of <u>our forbearers</u></li> <li>- Trust between people and their government – free man and woman</li> <li>- People of Iraq</li> <li>- People of those leaders who blame their society's ills on the West</li> <li>- The people of poor nations</li> <li>- The American people</li> </ul>
2. Announcing his candidacy <sup>76</sup>	<p>1x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- we have made a difference for ordinary people - the health care, they are able to find a job, or get trained for a job for the future.</li> <li>- keep working together</li> </ul>
3. Tax reform <sup>77</sup>	<p>13x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- frustrated people vs Washington government (especially GOP) who does not understand their needs.</li> <li>- Let’s give the American people -- the people who sent us here -- the kind of leadership they deserve.</li> </ul>

<sup>75</sup> Miller Center, Barack Obama’s inaugural address. 20.01.09. (cit.1.08.19), Available online: <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-20-2009-inaugural-address>

<sup>76</sup> American Rhetoric, Barack Obama announces candidacy for 2012 presidency. 26.04.11. (cit.1.08.19), Available online:

<https://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobama/barackobama2012prescandidacy.htm>

<sup>77</sup> The White House. Remarks by the President on the Payroll Tax Cut. 22.12.11. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/12/22/remarks-president-payroll-tax-cut>



4. Economy <sup>78</sup>	<p>24x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- millions of people -- innocent, hardworking Americans</li> <li>- blame the Great Recession as a starting point of vanishing middle class in US</li> <li>- regulations to</li> <li>- Democrats and Republican values are American values.</li> </ul>
5. Foreign policy <sup>79</sup>	<p>13x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- American people, who helped to the world with Marshall plan, but then went through the attacks of September 11. brought this new reality. He does not blame Islam religion, but Osama bin Laden and all the terrorists</li> <li>- I want America - to lead.</li> <li>- Plan how to finish the war in Iraq and how to fight against Al-Qaida, Taliban and defend American people</li> <li>- Shows the respect to his opponent John McCain</li> </ul>
6. Immigration reform <sup>80</sup>	<p>9x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Immigrants should take on the responsibilities of living in America.</li> <li>- People as native Americans, who are free and not trapped by the past and people as immigrants. The last ones should take on the responsibilities of living in America.</li> <li>- Bipartisan bill - giving undocumented immigrants a pathway to citizenship if they paid a fine, started paying their taxes, and went to the back of the line. "We expect people who live in this country to play by the rules.</li> </ul>

<sup>78</sup> The White House. Remarks by the President on the Economy, 06.12.11. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/12/06/remarks-president-economy-osawatomie-kansas>

<sup>79</sup> Obama, Barack, Full text: Obama's foreign policy speech. The Guardian. 16.07.08. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jul/16/uselections2008.barackobama>

<sup>80</sup> Miller Center, Barack Obama's address to the Nation on Immigration. 20.11.14. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/november-20-2014-address-nation-immigration>

During the Inauguration speech, Obama speaks about people in the context of those ones who *“have remained faithful to the ideals of our forbearers”*, he also points to the importance of *“trust between a people and their government.”* In speech number two, during the announcement of his candidacy for the second term in 2011, Obama asked people to look back and see how much they accomplished together and how much more they still have to do. Discussion about the economic situation in the United States, was full of reference to the Great Recession, showing his disagreement with an old vision of market *“The market will take care of everything,*

Obama’s speech about foreign policy based on two main issues: Marshall plan and terrorist attack in September 11. He wants America to lead in all aspects and help countries as Iraq, Afghanistan to quit the war. In contrast with previous speeches, the text about tax reform shows us some difficulties to find a compromise between two parties regarding tax reform. But again, he blames Washington government as a whole, because their internal contradictions make people feel frustrated by their leadership.

According to the results Obama do not emphasize the word “people” in any specific way, also he does not divide people to poor, middle class or elite. Obama has a tendency to refer to the past and to the God will, but simultaneously he was looking towards the future. This however makes him a centrist politician.

### **4.3. The U.S. 45<sup>th</sup> President Donald J. Trump**

*“It was one of the most shocking U.S. elections in modern political history.”<sup>81</sup>*

Donald John Trump announced his candidacy for the Presidency on June 16, 2015. After winning a majority of the primaries and caucuses, Trump became the official Republican candidate for president on July 19, 2016. In November 2016, Trump was elected the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, after defeating Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton.

During the election campaign, many experts proclaimed that the outcome would be „historic“, and indeed it was. In fact, they expected Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton become the country’s first woman president. Instead, Washington DC prepared for the inauguration of

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<sup>81</sup> Berenson, Tessa, Donald Trump Wins the 2016 Election. TIME, 9.11.16. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://time.com/4563685/donald-trump-wins/>

president-elect Donald J. Trump.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, he was outspent in campaign ads by Clinton by 3 to 1, and he had a small, disorganized ground game up against the Clinton election machine<sup>83</sup>, what makes his victory even more surreal. His campaign mostly agitated older and non-college educated white men who felt that their most-cherished values and their way of life were being eroded by socially liberal cultural currents.<sup>84</sup>

Trump's eventual victory was on one hand a culmination of cultural changes that began with the intergenerational shift from materialist to post-materialist values that led to growing support for socially liberal attitudes, among younger and educated Americans in the 1960s and 1970s. Reflecting the changing values of their electorates, the two major parties (Republicans and Democrats) gradually shifted to become more homogeneous internally in their cultural positions and more polarized between parties. Over successive decades, as Southern segregationists deserted the party, Democrats became steadily more consistently socially liberal. And, starting with Nixon's strategy of appealing to Southern conservatives, the Republicans gradually became increasingly socially conservative.

On the other hand, Trump's victory was also built on an authoritarian-populist faction of the Republican Party that had been growing for many years. His strategy to reach the White House exploited divisive and controversial cultural wedge issues about race, gender, religion, and nation that have divided American party politics for decades.<sup>85</sup>

As a future president, Trump has promised several things:

- To build the wall along the border with Mexico: "We need the Wall for the safety of our country. We need the Wall to help stop the massive inflow of drugs from Mexico, now rated the number one most dangerous country in the world. If there is no Wall, there is no Deal"<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Kabaservice, Geoffrey, Wild Populism has a long history in US politics, but Trump is surely unique, 14.01.17. (cit.1.08.19). Available online:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/15/wild-populism-long-history-us-politics-trump-surely-unique>

<sup>83</sup> Berenson, Tessa, Donald Trump Wins the 2016 Election. TIME, 9.11.16. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://time.com/4563685/donald-trump-wins/>

<sup>84</sup> Norris, Pippa, Iglehart, Ronald, 2019: 332

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 2019: 332

<sup>86</sup> Official D.J.Trump's twitter account. Available online: <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/953979393180950528>

- To suspend the Syrian refugee resettlement program. “The United States will not be a migrant Camp, and it will not be a refugee holding facility – won’t be. Not on my watch.”<sup>87</sup>
- To repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act. “We will immediately repeal and replace ObamaCare – and nobody can do that like me. We will save dollars and have much better healthcare!”<sup>88</sup>
- To renegotiate NAFTA. “I will renegotiate NAFTA. If I can’t make a great deal, we’re going to tear it up. We’re going to get this economy running again.”<sup>89</sup>

Name:	Donald J. Trump
1. Announcing <sup>90</sup>	<p>30x used the word “people” during his speech</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Together, we stared down a <u>corrupt and broken political establishment</u> and <u>we restored</u> government of, <u>by, and for the people</u></li> <li>- The only collusion was committed by the Democrats, the fake news media and their operatives and the people who funded the phony dossier, crooked Hillary Clinton and the DNC.</li> <li>- This election is a verdict on whether we want to live in a country where <u>the people who lose an election refuse to concede</u> and spend the next two years trying to shred our Constitution and rip your country apart.</li> <li>- How many <u>people are happy</u>? They no longer have to pay for the privilege of <u>not paying for bad health insurance</u>.</li> <li>- <u>The people tried to stop our movement</u> are the same Washington insiders, who spent their careers rigging the system, so your losses will be their gains, you know that.</li> <li>- <u>African-American</u> middle class, the same <u>people</u> who threw open our borders and allowed <u>drugs, gangs, and illegal labor</u> to devastate our poorest American communities, you know that.</li> </ul>

<sup>87</sup> Golshan, Tara, Trump: the US will not turn into a „migrant camp“ or „refugee holding facility“, VOX, 18.06.18., (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://www.vox.com/2018/6/18/17475512/trump-migrant-camp-refugee-germany>

<sup>88</sup> Official D.J.Trump’s twitter account. Available online: <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/697182075045179392>

<sup>89</sup> Official D.J.Trump’s twitter account. Available online: <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/788919099275390976?lang=cs>

<sup>90</sup> Factbase, Donald Trump announces his 2020 candidacy, 18.06.19. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://factba.se/transcript/donald-trump-speech-maga-rally-reelection-orlando-june-18-2019>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Our <u>political opponents looked down</u> with hatred on our values and <u>with utter disdain for the people</u> whose lives they want to run.</li> <li>- we have a lot of <u>brilliant talent campaign people</u></li> <li>- if <u>I lose</u>, <u>people</u> are going to say what a <u>mistake that was</u>, but we're not going to lose so it's not going to matter</li> <li>- These are <u>great people</u>, they're tough, they're smart, and they love our country.<sup>91</sup></li> <li>- <u>We have the greatest</u> medical labs in the world. We have incredible things under advisement, and our <u>people</u>, if they were very sick, they were terminally ill. They couldn't get anything because people said no, it might hurt them, they're terminally ill</li> <li>- The Democrat agenda of open borders is morally reprehensible. It's the greatest betrayal of the American middle class and, frankly, American life. Our country, has a hole, nobody sees anything like it, <u>people</u> are pouring in, but <i>we've stopped</i> them, and now, as I said, we have other people helping us, including the country of <u>Mexico</u>.</li> <li>- We are <u>one movement, one people, one family</u> and one glorious nation under God.</li> </ul>
2. Tax reform <sup>92</sup>	<p>38x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- We have a lot of <u>great people</u> with us today. We have our Secretary of the Treasury, Steven Mnuchin.</li> <li>- This has been an incredible journey, but it's happening even faster. And wait until you see GDP over the next year or two. Wait until you see what happens to our country. Because <u>people can feel it</u>. Billions and billions of dollars are being poured back into the United States.</li> <li>- They're <u>going to hire 20,000 people</u>.<sup>93</sup></li> </ul>

<sup>91</sup> „...Florida's terrific governor. Thank you, Ron. Our first lady, Casey DeSantis”

<sup>92</sup> White house, President Trump about Tax Reform, 5.2.18. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-tax-reform-3/>

<sup>93</sup> „...Apple announced a \$350 billion investment in America. And when I heard it, I said, “No, no. They mean \$350 million.” Because I’ve been saying to the head of Apple — good guy, Tim Cook — from the beginning — as soon as I first met him, I said, “Tim, it’s not complete until you start building plants in our great states. Otherwise, when you build them where you’re building them, I’m not interested. You got to build them.” And believe me, the reason it’s happening is because of what we did. But I heard the number. I heard “350,” and I figured it was \$350 million. That’s a big plant. You know, \$350 [million] is big. Even for your great company, it’s big. So, I figured they’re going to build a big, beautiful plant someplace. Then they came to me. They said, “Sir, it’s not \$350 million. It’s \$350 billion.” Right? That’s a big number. I would have been happy with the \$350 million, but you know, I like this number slightly better. And they’re going to do incredible things. They’re going to build plants. They’re going to build a tremendous campus. They’re going to hire 20,000 people.”

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Everywhere I go, <u>I love to hear what people plan to do with the money.</u></li> <li>- We need <u>people</u> that are going to do a <u>great job</u> and <u>keep us</u> in the right direction.</li> <li>- the <u>people are happy</u>, and you see tax cuts, in this case, or whatever that party is — but you see the big tax cuts, you see what we’re doing, jobs are coming back. And the people that voted for us become complacent a little bit. They’re happy.</li> <li>- We’re <u>one team, one people, and one family.</u></li> <li>- Matt, why don’t you come on up and tell us about these massive <u>cuts</u> and how they’re <u>benefitting your people</u>, your employees, your workers.</li> <li>- <u>one drug dealer can kill thousands of people.</u></li> <li>- We want every American <u>to live a life of meaning</u>, of purpose, and of joy. And we want every American to have a job they love so they can wake up each morning excited to go to work, like all of you <u>people are</u>.</li> <li>- <u>the future</u> of America doesn’t belong to the privileged few, <u>it belongs to all of the people</u> — all of those people that I saw for two years now.</li> <li>- The fact is, the future belongs to you. You are the ones who raise America’s great and beautiful families, support America’s communities, and uphold our values, our principles, and the American way of life. Workers like you carve the steel into our skyscrapers — and I just got to see a lot of it — by great machinists, by great mechanics, by great people.</li> </ul>
3. Economy <sup>94</sup>	23x <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I represent the <u>interests of American people</u></li> <li>- When the United States grows, so does the world innovation in the U.S. has led to important discoveries that <u>help people</u> everywhere live more prosperous and far <u>healthier lives</u>.</li> <li>- Old immigration system stops our economic system. We have to <u>select people</u> based on their <u>ability to contribute to our economy</u></li> </ul>

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<sup>94</sup> Miller Center, Donald Trump’s address at the World Economic Forum. 26.01.18. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-26-2018-address-world-economic-forum>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- We must <u>invest in our people</u>. When <u>people are forgotten</u>, the world becomes fractured. Only by hearing and responding to the voices of the forgotten can we create a bright future that is truly shared by all.</li> <li>- <u>The nation's greatness</u> is more than the sum of its production. A nation's greatness is the sum of its citizens: the values, pride, love, devotion, and character of <u>the people</u> who call that nation home.</li> <li>- a duty of <u>loyalty to the people</u>, workers, and customers who have made you who you are.</li> <li>- The tax reform was a dream of a lot of people over many years, but they <u>weren't able to get it done</u>. Many <u>people tried</u>.</li> <li>- United States where <u>people from all over the world</u> are looking to come in and <u>invest</u>, and there's just nothing like what's happening.</li> <li>- I have a group of people that have been so —I have a whole lot of them, so I won't introduce because then I'll insult at least half of them. But I've had a group of <u>people that worked so hard</u> on this and other things.</li> <li>-</li> </ul>
4. Foreign policy <sup>95</sup>	11x <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- My foreign policy will always put the <u>interests of the American people</u> and American security <u>above all else</u>.</li> <li>- We have the <u>power over China</u>, economic power, and <u>people</u> don't understand it.</li> <li>- We must stop importing <u>extremism</u> through senseless <u>immigration</u> policies. We have no idea where these <u>people</u> are coming from</li> <li>- We have to look to <u>new people</u> because many of the <u>old people frankly don't know what they're doing</u>, even though they may look awfully good writing in The New York Times or being watched on television</li> <li>- Americans must know that we're putting <u>the American people first</u> again on trade.</li> <li>- We will no longer <u>surrender</u> this country or its <u>people</u> to the <u>false song of globalism</u>. The nation-state remains the true foundation for happiness and harmony. I am skeptical of</li> </ul>

<sup>95</sup> Donald Trump's remarks about foreign policy. New York Times, 27.04.16, (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/28/us/politics/transcript-trump-foreign-policy.html>

	international unions that tie us up and bring America down and will never enter.
5. Immigration reform <sup>96</sup>	<p>14x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Throughout our history, we have proudly welcomed newcomers to our shores. Out of many people, from many places, we have forged one <u>people</u> and <u>one nation under God</u>, and we're very proud of it.</li> <li>- ending the border crisis is removing all incentives for <u>smuggling women and children</u>. <u>People</u> have no idea how bad it is unless you're there, and unless you are a member of law enforcement. They see it every day, and they can't believe what they see.</li> <li>- gang members and <u>criminals</u> are inadmissible. These are some of <u>the worst people</u> anywhere in the world</li> <li>- America's immigration system should bring in <u>people</u> who will <u>expand opportunity</u> for striving, low-income Americans, not to compete with those low-income Americans.</li> <li>- The White House plan makes no change to the number of green cards allocated each year. But instead of admitting <u>people</u> through random chance, we will establish simple, universal <u>criteria for admission to the United States</u>.</li> </ul>
6. Inauguration speech <sup>97</sup>	<p>9x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- the <u>citizens</u> of America will <u>rebuild</u> our country.</li> <li>- we are transferring <i>power</i> from Washington, D.C. and giving it <u>back to</u> you, the <u>American People</u>.</li> <li>- <u>Washington flourished</u> – but the <i>people</i> did not share in its wealth. Politicians prospered – but the jobs left, and the factories closed</li> <li>- <u>The establishment</u> protected itself, but not <u>the citizens</u> of our country.</li> <li>- January 20th 2017 - <u>people</u> became the <u>rulers</u> of this nation again.</li> <li>- From this moment on, it is going to be <u>America First</u>. Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign</li> </ul>

<sup>96</sup> White House, Donald Trump: Modernizing Our Immigration System for a Stronger America, 16.05.19. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-modernizing-immigration-system-stronger-america/>

<sup>97</sup> Miller Center, Donald Trump Inauguration speech, 20.01.17. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-20-2017-inaugural-address>



	<p>affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The Bible tells us, “how good and pleasant it is when <u>God’s people</u> live together in unity.”</li> </ul>
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According to elected five analyzed speeches we can see three populism tendencies:

- Manichean world view (depicting a moralized battle between good and evil):  
“gang members and criminals are inadmissible. These are some of the worst people anywhere in the world”
- People-centrism (portraying a romanticized vision of common popular will)  
“the citizens of America will rebuild our country”
- Anti-elitism (blames the people’s difficulties on a malign establishment that had subverted the system for their benefit)<sup>98</sup>
- “The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country.”

Also, spotted phrases show that Trump shares right-wing populist values.

#### 4.4. Bernie Sanders - democratic socialist and progressive

*„...the current generation of young people is the smartest, most idealistic, and least prejudiced generation in the modern history of the United States. This is a generation that is prepared to think big and move this country in a very different direction than we have been traveling for years. “*

Bernie Sanders.<sup>99</sup>

Independent politician Bernie Sanders was born on September 8, 1941, in New York. He grew up in Brooklyn as the youngest of two sons of Jewish immigrants from Poland. His

<sup>98</sup> David Smith, Paul Lewis, John Holder and Frank Hulley-Jones, “The Teleprompter Test”, The Guardian, 6.3.19. (cit.1.08.19). Available online: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2019/mar/07/the-teleprompter-test-why-trumps-populism-is-often-scripted>, accessed 1.8.19.

<sup>99</sup> Sanders, Bernie, 2017: 8.

father worked as a paint salesman.<sup>100</sup> Sanders attended James Madison High School, Brooklyn College and the University of Chicago.<sup>101</sup> He served in the House of Representatives from 1990 to 2006 and was previously the mayor of Burlington, Vermont. Also, Sanders has been a senator from Vermont since 2007. Throughout his career he has focused on the shrinking American middle class and the growing income and wealth gaps in the United States.<sup>102</sup>

“I know that the middle class of this country is collapsing. I know the gap between the very, very rich and everybody else is growing wider. I know there is profound anger at the greed on Wall Street and corporate American, anger at the political establishment, anger at the media establishment,” Sanders said. “The American people want real change.”<sup>103</sup>

Sanders used to say he would be a voice for working and middle-class Americans, if he runs for president, by addressing the growing influence of money in politics as well as defending Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid.<sup>104</sup>

During his president candidate campaign in 2016 his main goals were:

- Medicare for all;
- \$ 15 minimum wage;
- Reforming the Wall Street;
- Making Higher education affordable;
- Combating climate change;
- Immigration reform.

Name:	B. Sanders
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<sup>100</sup> Bernie Sanders. BIOGRAPHY (online). (cit. 1.8.2019). Available online: [www: http://www.biography.com/people/bernie-sanders-02032016](http://www.biography.com/people/bernie-sanders-02032016)

<sup>101</sup> About Bernie. Bernie Sanders U.S. Senator for Vermont. (cit. 1.8.2019). Available online: [www: https://www.sanders.senate.gov/about](https://www.sanders.senate.gov/about)

<sup>102</sup> McBride, James, The 2020 Presidential Candidates: In Their Own Words, 14.08. 19. (cit. 1.8.19.), Available online: <https://www.cfr.org/article/2020-presidential-candidates-their-own-words>

<sup>103</sup> Shutt, Jennifer. Sanders considering 2016 run as Democrat. POLITICO (online). 14.9.2014 (cit. 1.08.2019); Available online: [www: http://www.politico.com/blogs/politico-now/2014/09/sanders-considering-2016-run-as-democrat-195431](http://www.politico.com/blogs/politico-now/2014/09/sanders-considering-2016-run-as-democrat-195431)

<sup>104</sup> Ibid: <http://www.politico.com/blogs/politico-now/2014/09/sanders-considering-2016-run-as-democrat-195431>

1. Announcing <sup>105</sup>	<p>22x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <u>Political revolution</u> which will transform America</li> <li>- People that are part of a campaign which is not only going to win the Democratic nomination, which is not only going to <u>defeat Donald Trump</u>, the most dangerous president in modern American history, but with your help is going to transform this country and, finally, create <u>an economy</u> and government which works <u>for all Americans</u>, and not just the one percent.</li> <li>- Government will be based on justice</li> <li>- powerful special interests who control so much of our economic and political life that we will <u>no longer tolerate the greed of corporate</u> America and the billionaire class</li> <li>- <u>healthcare to all people</u> as a right</li> <li>- <u>AI</u> (artificial intelligence) must <u>serve human</u>, not just corporate profits</li> <li>- <u>American people</u> will <u>rebuild our crumbling infrastructure</u></li> <li>- Public colleges and universities tuition free – lower dept</li> <li>- No more private prisons</li> <li>- Change criminal system</li> <li>- Provide path towards citizenship - comprehensive immigration reform</li> <li>- <u>Trump is dividing us American people</u></li> <li>- <u>People</u> who should <u>not have guns</u>, will not have guns.</li> </ul>
<p>Sanders calls to fight for political revolution which will transform the US. He promises to create an economy.</p>	
2. Tax reform <sup>106</sup>	<p>3x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <u>The wealthiest people</u>: CEOs, Large corporations in this country have closed thousands of factories in the United States and <u>outsourced millions of American jobs</u> to low-wage countries overseas to avoid an estimated \$100 billion a year in taxes by shifting profits</li> <li>- Gender inequality payment</li> <li>- corporate greed and the war against the American middle class must end.</li> </ul>

<sup>105</sup> VTD Editor, Full text: Sen. Bernie Sanders' 2020 presidential campaign kickoff speech, 2.03.19. (cit. 1.08.2019); Available online: <https://vtdigger.org/2019/03/02/full-text-sen-bernie-sanders-2020-presidential-campaign-kickoff-speech/>

<sup>106</sup> Bernie Sanders, The War on the Middle Class, Boston Globe, 12.06.15.(cit. 1.08.2019), Available online: <https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2015/06/12/bernie-sanders-the-war-middle-class/hAJUTAjWgupBLx4zAMh7nN/story.html?hootPostID=932abaf0e7def55e4bea95b77a4d4763>

3. Economy <sup>107</sup>	4x <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <u>People living in poverty</u></li> <li>- all this grotesque level of income and wealth inequality comes from Wall Street</li> <li>- on Wall Street six years ago that drove this country into the worst recession since the Great Depression.</li> </ul>
4. Foreign policy <sup>108</sup>	4x <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Trade with Vietnam, where the minimum wage is 56 cents an hour, independent labor units are banned, and <u>people</u> are thrown in jail for expressing their political beliefs. We must <u>help poor people</u> around the world.</li> <li>- TTP one of the important factors why manufacturing jobs in U.S. have declined</li> <li>- TTP agreement helps <u>multi-national corporations</u> to pollute and <u>degrade the global environment</u></li> <li>- <u>People</u> should <u>make decisions</u> by their own, without unelected international tribunal</li> </ul>
5. Immigration reform <sup>109</sup>	15x <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <u>Immigration reform</u> is needed <u>for</u> all <u>our people</u> not just for a handful people on the top</li> <li>- Immigrants play central role in U.S. economy</li> <li>- <u>Politicians playing one group of people against another</u>: white against black, male against female, straight against gay, native born against immigrant</li> <li>- we must be aggressive in pursuing policies that are humane and sensible and that keep families together.</li> <li>- We are <u>nation of immigrants</u></li> <li>- <u>Immigrants – people</u> who are ruthlessly <u>exploited</u></li> <li>- Undocumented workers – are people who come to the United States to escape economic hardship and political persecution</li> <li>- U.S. as a <u>protector of vulnerable people</u></li> <li>- to truly empower our minority communities, we must address the crippling poverty that affects tens of millions of people in this country.</li> </ul>

<sup>107</sup> Sanders, Bernie, Break Up Bug Banks, Huffpost, 07.05.15. (cit. 1.8.19.), Available online: [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/break-up-big-banks\\_b\\_7233284](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/break-up-big-banks_b_7233284)

<sup>108</sup> Sanders, Bernie, The TPP Must Be Defeated, Huffpost, 21.5.15. (cit. 1.8.19.), Available online: [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-tpp-must-be-defeated\\_b\\_7352166?guccounter=1](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-tpp-must-be-defeated_b_7352166?guccounter=1)

<sup>109</sup> Attanasio, Cedar, Bernie Sanders on immigration, Latin Times, 13.10.15. (cit. 1.8.19.), Available online: <https://www.latintimes.com/bernie-sanders-immigration-read-full-speech-presidential-candidates-address-naleo-324484>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <u>Give young people a dream</u> of going to college without being in debt</li> <li>- Invest in Latino communities so that America can reach its full potential</li> </ul>
6. Speech to supporters <sup>110</sup>	<p>32x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Real <u>change</u> always occurs <u>from the bottom on up</u> – when tens of millions of <u>people</u> say “enough is enough”</li> <li>- People (who support Bernie) will to shape the future of this country. Those people are future of this country</li> <li>- <u>health care to all people</u> as a right and not a privilege.</li> <li>- We must end the disgrace of having more people in jail than any other country on earth and move toward real criminal justice reform at the federal, state and local levels.</li> <li>- We must pass comprehensive immigration reform and provide a path toward <u>citizenship for 11 million undocumented people</u>.</li> <li>- the Democratic Party needs <u>leadership</u> which is prepared to open its doors and welcome into its ranks <u>working people and young people</u></li> <li>- We need to start engaging at the local and state level in an unprecedented way. These are people deeply concerned about the future of our country and their own communities.</li> <li>- for government to work efficiently and effectively, we need to attract great and dedicated people from all walks of life</li> <li>- we need a new generation of <u>people</u> actively <u>involved in public service</u> who are prepared to provide the quality of life the American people deserve.</li> <li>- <u>government which represents all the people</u> and not just the few, they will note that, to a significant degree, that effort began with the political revolution of 2016.</li> </ul>

<sup>110</sup> White, Daniel, Bernie Sanders’ Speech to Supporters, Time, 17.06.16. (cit. 1.8.19.), Available online: <https://time.com/4372673/bernie-sanders-speech-text-read-transcript/>

## 4.5. Hillary Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton was an American lawyer and politician who served as a U.S. senator (2001–09) and secretary of state (2009–13) in the administration of Pres. Barack Obama. She had served as first lady (1993–2001) during the administration of her husband, Bill Clinton, 42nd president of the United States.

In April 2015 Clinton announced that she was entering the U.S. presidential election race of 2016, and she immediately became the favorite to win the Democratic nomination. However, her campaign faced an unexpected challenge from Bernie Sanders, a senator who was a self-described “democratic socialist.” Clinton, seen as a political insider, initially struggled to counter Sanders’s populist policies, which she criticized as unrealistic. Instead, she advocated a “sensible agenda,” which was based on traditional Democratic goals, notably tax increases on the wealthy, an increase to the minimum wage, and immigration reform. In addition, she supported stricter Wall Street regulations, though her past connections to the banking and investment industry—notably in the form of corporate speeches and campaign donations—drew scrutiny. As a former secretary of state, Clinton highlighted her foreign-policy experience, and she backed a strong U.S. presence overseas.<sup>111</sup>

Hillary’s vision for America:

- A fair tax system (Making sure the wealthy, Wall Street, and corporations pay their fair share in taxes)
- An economy that works for everyone (We need to build an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top)
- Climate change (Taking on the threat of climate change and making America the world’s clean energy superpower)
- Health care (Universal, quality, affordable health care for everyone in America)<sup>112</sup>

Name:	H. Clinton – “people”
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<sup>111</sup> Hillary Clinton biography. Encyclopedia Britannica. (10.07.19.) Available online: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hillary-Clinton>. (cit. 1.8.19).

<sup>112</sup> Clinton, Hillary, Hillary for America (online). (cit. 1.8.2019). Available online: [www.hillaryclinton.com/issues/](http://www.hillaryclinton.com/issues/);

1. Announcing <sup>113</sup>	<p>23x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Roosevelt – father of the nation</li> <li>- Provided <u>health care, job for working people</u>,</li> <li>- <u>People</u> - think about their <u>future</u> again (go to college without debt, start a business without fear of thriving, ability to buy a house.)</li> <li>- <u>Corporations, CEOs making record pay</u>, while paychecks of <u>working people have barely budged</u>.</li> <li>- Democracy is not just for billionaires and corporations</li> <li>- <u>American people</u> - the successful and the struggling, innovators and inventors, the factory workers and food servers, nurses, the truckers, veterans, small business owners</li> <li>- <u>Republicans as “they” who do not listen</u> the scientists warning about climate change, those who want to take away health insurance without an alternative, shame woman for their abortion decision, turn their backs on <u>gay people</u>.</li> <li>- There are union leaders who are investing their own pension funds in putting <u>people</u> to work to build tomorrow’s economy</li> <li>- Reward businesses who invest in long term value</li> <li>- <u>Young people</u> as an investment for better <u>future</u></li> <li>- <u>America inspires people</u> around the world</li> <li>- Element of America’s power improve lives around the world with people, not just with governments</li> <li>- <u>Stop drowning out the voices of our people</u></li> <li>- I’ll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise young people, poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color</li> <li>- advanced <u>technology</u> so government agencies can more effectively <u>serve</u> their customers, <u>the American people</u></li> </ul>
2. Tax reform <sup>114</sup>	<p>4x</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- More accountability on Wall Street</li> <li>- <u>People</u> who commit financial <u>crimes</u> should get serious <u>consequences</u></li> <li>- Find the most independent-minded people for regulatory jobs, people who will put consumers and everyday investors</li> </ul>

<sup>113</sup> Frizell, Sam, Clinton’s Campaign Launch Speech, Time, 13.06.15. (cit. 1.8.2019). Available online: <https://time.com/3920332/transcript-full-text-hillary-clinton-campaign-launch/>

<sup>114</sup> Clinton, Hillary, My Plan to Prevent the Next Crash, Bloomberg, 8.10.15, (cit. 1.8.2019). Available online: <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2015-10-08/hillary-clinton-s-plan-to-prevent-the-next-crash>

	ahead of the industries and institutions they're supposed to oversee.
3. Economy <sup>115</sup>	11x <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <u>American people – hardworking people</u></li> <li>- <u>Clinton as a representor of the people</u></li> <li>- Incomes rise for hard/working families not just for CEOs</li> <li>- More jobs – <u>more choices for people where to work</u></li> <li>- More hard-working people – better economy, higher HDP</li> <li>- <u>People as an investment in the future</u></li> <li>- 6 million young People from 16-24 – no job, no school (especially Latinos and Black men)</li> <li>- new rules that deal with some of the challenges on Wall Street - to <u>encourage responsible loans</u> to local people and businesses they know and trust.</li> </ul>
4. Foreign policy <sup>116</sup>	6x <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- American people lost their job, because of manipulations particularly in Asia</li> <li>- More <u>people</u> being in the <u>middle class</u></li> <li>- Cooperation with all countries to protect and help civil people and refugees from Syria</li> <li>- People who support Clinton to go after Republicans</li> </ul>
5. Immigration reform <sup>117</sup>	58x <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Clinton as a champion of hard-working American people</li> <li>- Get back <u>people to the good old-fashioned American style</u></li> <li>- Strong families – strong America</li> <li>- <u>Young people – education as an essential</u></li> <li>- American people <u>support comprehensive immigration reform</u></li> <li>- Equal citizenship for people who pay taxes, work hard, love this country, contribute to the economy</li> <li>- People who disagree need to have a conversation with Clinton</li> </ul>

<sup>115</sup> Allen, Jonathan, Hillary Clinton's economic speech, Vox, 13.07.15. (cit. 1.8.2019). Available online: <https://www.vox.com/2015/7/13/8953349/Clinton-economic-speech-transcript>

<sup>116</sup> Woodruff, Judy, Wellford, Rachel, Hillary Clinton on trade pact doubts, dealing with Putin. PBS, 7.10.15. (cit. 1.8.2019). Available online: <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/hillary-clinton#transcript>

<sup>117</sup> Hillary Clinton Immigration Roundtable, C-SPAN, 5.05.15. (cit. 1.8.19.) Available online: <https://www.c-span.org/video/?325829-1/hillary-clinton-town-hall-immigration-nevada&start=841>



6. Concession speech <sup>118</sup>	6x - <u>People</u> – who are <u>diverse</u> (race, religion, man, woman, LGBT, people with disabilities) <u>believe in American dream</u> - Young people – should fight for what they are believe in
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## Conclusion

According to this thesis analysis we can assume without any doubts that Trump and Sanders are populist politicians that are standing on the opposite borders of the left-right political spectrum and Obama with Clinton are in the center. It is more complicated to identify how do they close to the center and how do they far from it, for finding it out we need more comprehensive analysis of their verbal acts.

Nevertheless, there are some other interesting discovers and confirmations. On the basis of Paul Taggart six key themes that run through populism the 44<sup>th</sup> US president Barack Obama does not fit to Taggart's definition of populist leader. His nostalgic views to the ideals of previous generations of American leaders or criticizing Washington government for lack of empathy just shifts him from the right side to the left and vice versa. Clinton as the Obama's patron had almost the same rhetoric as Obama had, except some cases when she adopted Sander's messages. This makes them more that less the centrist candidates.

Trump and Sunders not only fit into the Taggart's concept of populism, but also shows us even further details of populist leadership. Trump is a nationalist, who has an explicit rightwing populist campaign in year 2016, he showed as a charismatic leader with ability to persuade. His main slogans were similar and easy to remember, they were provocative and absurd.

Trump is a one-man show whose initial target was other Republicans and who has not built a movement around himself. He has displayed anti-democratic tendencies, but they are idiosyncratic.<sup>119</sup> Trump's success constructed around his personality, Sanders's success was attributed to his "authenticity."<sup>120</sup> He called to fight for political revolution which will transform the US. He promises to create an economy for all Americans. He aimed to rouse the

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<sup>118</sup> Clinton, Hillary, Hillary Clinton's concession speech, The Guardian, 9.11.16. (cit. 1.8.19], Available online: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/09/hillary-clinton-concession-speech-full-transcript>

<sup>119</sup> Judis John B. 2016: 182

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, 2016: 192

people against the billionaire class, he wanted to provide healthcare to all American people. makes him also populist, but left-wing.

## **Summary**

In my bachelor thesis, I strove to provide a qualified analysis of the four presidential candidate speeches adding an accent to the usage of the word „people “. First, I described the ideology of populism by illustrating its main characteristics. Then I comprehensively explained Paul Taggart’s definition of populism, respectively all six key themes. Second, I underlined and added the main parts of texts (full text in addition material) which not only reconfirmed definition Taggart’s classification, but also fitted in John B. Judis characteristics of left-and right- wing populism.

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